THE «CUSTOM» OF CONCHA AND UNAMUNO'S QUEST FOR SELF THROUGH EXILE

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In the best study yet published which addresses the issue of the «maternal» in Unamuno's psyche and fiction *(The Elusive Self: Archetypal Approaches to the Novels of Miguel de Unamuno* [1991]), Gayana Jurkevich traces the ways in which Don Miguel offered the world an aggressive mask in order to hide a personality dependent on maternal shelter. Utilizing a Jungian perspective consistent with Unamuno's own readings in psychology and pronouncements on textuality, she demonstrates how Unamuno and his male fictional entities consistently fail to liberate their anima archetype from the mother-imago, projecting the entire association onto the beloved or wife, «who is then unable to assume her appropriate function as an independent and complementary entity» (2). Because this Devouring Mother of the author/agonist's own creation thus overwhelms her partner with «the power of her magnetic numinosity» (153), he never acknowledges the presence of the legitimate female partner ready to lend him freedom from his childhood dependency on mother. The result is a male figure far more capable of faith in the Great Mother than in the more liberating but distant protection of the Heavenly Father. If this textual-biographical sketch is accurate —and it seems to be the legitimate culmination of efforts by many earlier scholars not yet possessing the magical key of Jurkevich's Jungian apparatus—, how then do we explain the six years' self-imposed exile from his wife that don Miguel carried out from 1924 to 1930?

As Abellán points out (44), we will know relatively little about Unamuno's intimate relationship with his wife Concha until more of their correspondence with each other and with other family members is revealed. Some of this material has recently been brought to light by Laureano Robles in both volumes of his *Miguel de Unamuno: Epistolario inédito,* and portions of volume 2 are particularly revealing. For example, on August 24, 1918 Unamuno writes to Concha from Benasque, while on a prolonged trip across north central Spain, complaining that he has not received a word from her or the family (71). Four days later, he writes from Castejón de Sobrarbe, making the same anxious complaint, eliciting sympathy for abdominal pains, and announcing cancellation of his planned trip to Barcelona, «pues siento necesidad de descanso y vida de casa» (72). Nine years later, exiled in Hendayen, he writes to his daughter Salomé alluding to emotional unsteadiness and an inability to surmount the circumspection imposed on his verbal communication by the presence of Concha: «En casa me ata un pudor que no suelo tener fuera de ella. Es algo que no ha llegado a entender del todo tu madre, y díselo» (225). Beyond these brief but telling glimpses, it is necessary to rely greatly on the evidene of the Don Miguel-Concha relationship that has been assembled by many earlier scholars, and which gradually —and unfortunately— has solidified into an «official» portrait. It is necessary to re-trace the chronological ordering of the evidence that these scholars and Unamuno himself have left us, because underneath the *récit* of grawing conjugal devotion there is a more troubling *histoire* that has been overlooked.

In a February 15, 1907 letter to Joan Maragall *(Epistolario* 58), Unamuno tells how he fell in love with Concha Lizárraga when the two were practically children and how, as an adolescent, he regularly came to court her in Guernica, where her sense of humor kept him momentarily from his habitual brooding about death. By the time he was working on his doctorate and making *oposiciones* he was anxious to marry the woman who would later be remembered as «la madre de mis hijos y por ende mi madre» («Comentario» on Jean Cassou's «Retrato de Unamuno», *Cómo se hace* 104). Precisely how Unamuno felt as he approached this marriage can be inferred from his letter to Juan Arzadun on December 18, 1890. Here Unamuno stresses the simplicity and naturalness of his dreamed of marriage, an event ideally stripped of costume, formal-

ized religion, and ceremony (Salcedo 64). Romance is mentioned only as an illusion. He finds himself unaccustomed to social nicities (a real «oso») and is almost thankful to be giving up his freedom to a woman «empeñada en domesticarme» (64). It is a sentiment recalled in a March 3, 1927 letter to his daughter Salomé (Blanco Aguinaga 264). Although reluctantly acknowledging that the energies required for the conjugal and social relationship of marriage will likely deaden his creativity, he hopes that his diminished literary output will prove to be more carefully conceived and humanely styled (Salcedo 64). Marriage will, almost calculatingly, offer him the shelter and repose necessary to achieve these goals. Almost twenty years later, a letter to Luis Zulueta on March 5, 1909 confirms that marriage has successfully distracted him from the darker side of his speculative personality (Zulueta 219). It was this dark component from which Concha had spectacularly rescued him the sixth year of his married life, pressing him to her bosom one night while consoling him with the Pieta-like words «¡Hijo mío!» (January 3, 1898 letter to Pedro Jiménez Ilundain [Nozick 37]). It is a cry alluded to in countless letters, essays, and fictional works. Upon Concha's death, he repeated to Jacques Chevalier on April 17, 1934 what he had said so many times previously: that Concha had been his «costumbre»: his intimate release, his serenity, and his hope for immortality amid personal doubts (García Blanco, *En torno* 604). It is a relationship that Max Aub, among many other witnesses, characterized as one of quiet joy, domesticity, and puritanical loyalty (González Egido 16).

The most salient feature of this composite portrait, added to by almost every significant critic from Serrano Poncela to Jurkevich, is the tendency of Unamuno to view his wife, and by extension all women, as mothers, thus minimizing every other aspect of female endeavor (Abellán 44; Navajas 132). The wife-mother association was «a refuge and a consolation, a kind of return home, a way of retaining his own boyhood» (Wyers xii). Amid the trials of life Concha was Unamuno's «tienda de campaña» (Nozick 23), and the home she provided was a timeless world free from the ravages of history, a paradisiacal world of unconscious consistency (Abellán 46). It is only via his repeated embracing of the wife-mother that Unamuno was able to access this womb of safety and religious faith that had been his in childhood (213-16). This is why, at age 39, Unamuno would describe his life with Concha as a joyful in-

ner «poem» (letter of August 12, 1903 to Luis Zulueta [Zulueta 23]), a figure perfectly suggesting its isolation and cultivation of life-giving fantasies. It is a perception well illustrated in Ignacio's views of Rafaela and evocations of his own mother in the 1897 novel *Paz en la guerra* (Franz 79), and Rafael's poetic remake of his sweetheart Teresa in the 1924 collection of that name: «tú, todo lo que fue ya eternizado, / mi madre, mi hija, mi mujer!» *(Poesía* 2: 204). As Blanco Aguinaga's generous inventory points out (127-63), the list of Unamuno's characters who make this association is long indeed.

It is only a short distance from the chain of «wife», «mother», «childhood» and «security» to the association of Concha with God-like, eternalizing abilities. As Malvido Miguel notes in his analysis of chapter 7 of *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida,* «Amor, dolor compasión y personalidad», an important part of the New Testament notion of God proceeds from the human desire to be loved. God is the being who, answering our desires, loves and comforts us in our afflictions (Malvido Miguel 160-62). Because Concha answers Unamuno's anxieties in even more immediate and tangible ways, year-in and year-out, Unamuno willfully associates her with the intimate presence of the vainly sought God. Indeed, as Unamuno generalizes in the 7th chapter of the *Sentimiento trágico,* in all conjugal love the lovers look beyond each other in a quest for an eternity which they try to achieve through both offspring and sexual-mystical transports (Malvido Miguel 174-175). This is why, when Unamuno's eros and quest for immortality are most frustrated, during the first years of exile, his sonnets and commentaries in *De Fuerteventura a París* (1925) repeatedly evoke the sea, Concha, and mystical communion with the Divine (Abellán 48; Ouimette, «La agonía» 177), an association rendered clearer but more prosaic in certain poems of the *Cancionero* (Salcedo 369-70). When Concha dies in 1934, Unamuno, remembering an image in his poem, «Elegía en la muerte de un perro» *(Poesías* [1907]) tells his friend Adolfo Núñez that the dying Concha «Me miró... como aquel perro» (Salcedo 367). The use of the dog simile to refer to one's dying is shockingly irreverent until we recall how Unamuno's autobiographical Rafael used an equally negative image to describe his dying lover in poem 53 of *Teresa:* «Y me miraban con piedad tus ojos / como a otro enfermo» *(Poesía* 2: 182). The seemingly negative image is in reality, at least on one level, an evocation of

unbridled honesty, acceptance and compassion. Recalling the Epilogue to *Niebla* (1914), where the dying, compassionate Orfeo is revealed to be in a God-like relationship to his master Augusto, we can see that the image of the dog is used to associate Concha's faithful love with the presence of God in Unamuno's life. However, as both the final poems of the *cancionero* and the notes for the projected *El resentimiento trágico de la vida: Notas sobre la revolución y guerra civil españolas* («Y mi mujer, la que se murió aquí, sin conciencia, dónde está fuera de mí?» [33]) make clear, the sense of shelter that Unamuno received from Concha could not long continue to silence the winds of history and mortality. Unamuno had anticipated this tragic shortfall twenty years earlier in the 7th chapter of the *Sentimiento trágico*, when he termed the dream of immortality through domestic living and conjugal transports as the «padre del desengaño». Commenting on the saying that «todo animal está triste después del acto carnal», Unamuno concludes —as he subsequently will in the «Presentación» to *Teresa* and the Prologue to *El hermano Juan* (1929)— that the search for eternity and God via recourse to love inevitably concludes in an encounter with death (Malvido Miguel 178).

All of this leads to two generalizations, which in turn will serve as springboards for additional reflection within the mind of Don Miguel. First, Unamuno recognized that Concha, as his «virgin mother» and «holy mirror» of eternity, did «not so much reflect the self as enclose it» (Wyers 40). Ironically, this shelterer of the self was a being largely created and encircled by a self that itself wanted to be enclosed. This is why Unamuno refers to Concha not only as his «mother» but as his «child», and why he on so many occasions characterizes her as a «little boy» in attitude and expression. It is this largely Unamuno-created Concha who, in turn, creates the sheltered child that Unamuno and his male characters like to see reflected as a miniature in the eyes of their wives and lovers (Braun 212-30; Wyers 73). Perceiving themselves thus protected from the outer world where death and destruction reign, Unamuno and his male characters feel that their female protector constitutes a divine intervention in their lives. As Abellán points out, love between man and woman is for Unamuno an aspect of a human being's search for God, but in Unamuno's own case it is a search for a God created by Unamuno's own ego: «si logramos amar a los semejantes es por una identificación con nosotros mismos» (114-

15); «su fin es Dios. Pero Dios entendido como una proyección de la conciencia, de yo» (120).

Second, since the protective Concha was a largely Unamuno-created phenomenon, it was inevitable that an enclosure within such an embrace ultimately would be recognized as suicidal, an isolation of the individual from the life-giving world of the «other» that Unamuno extolls in chapter 11, «El problema práctico», of his *Sentimiento trágico.* Referring to this isolation and absorption in Freudian terms, Malvido Miguel states that «En Unamuno no sólo se descubren puntos concretos en los que la muerte asoma en la vida amorosa, sino que además se advierte una acentuación de la línea tantásica del impulso sexual sobre su otro aspecto de disfrute» (179; see also Rof Carballo 71-96, Abellán 114, and Ouimette, *Reason* 79). We see this association of death with physical union reflected very early, for example in the Unamuno of the 1890's fears that marriage to Concha would dilute his creative energy (Wyers xii). In the 1920 novela *Dos madres* the motherly Berta appears to rescue the hapless Juan from the ravages of life, but she really «sucks him down and drowns him in a bottomless sea» of motherly preoccupation (Wyers 72). The absence of striving in Ramiro and Rosa's marriage in *La tía Tula* (1921) merely corroborates Unamuno's assertion in the *Sentimiento trágico* that, in love, both of the partners «son tiranos y esclavos; cada uno de ellos tirano y esclavo a la vez del otro» (Abellán 114). Prior to his 1897 crisis Unamuno had managed to give up the «prácticas piadosas a que su madre y su entonces novia le empujaban en Bilbao» (Salcedo 81). However, the pull of motherly loyalty (the «alma de su alma», as he refers to it in *Paz en la guerra)* diverted Unamuno from his painful, independent course in 1897, and upon learning of her son's reconversion, his mother exclaimed, as Concha had at the beginning of the crisis, «¡Hijo mío!» (89). We know that Ignacio's mother, Josefa Ignacia, and his fiancée, Rafaela, in *Paz en la guerra* are based on both Unamuno's mother, doña Salomé, and his then fiancée, Concha Lizárraga (Blanco Aguinaga 118; Salcedo 82). It therefore should not surprise us that neither Josefa Ignacia nor Rafaela (chapters 3 and 4) can understand why thinking and the development of philosophical and ideological systems should be so important to the male characters in the book. Marina evidences the same incomprehension in *Amor y pedagogía* (1902), and the female interlocutor of *Teresa's* rhymes strongly echoes the sentiment:

Déjame de pensar; el pensamiento
es cosa de los hombres; las mujeres
harto tenemos con cumplir deberes
y nuestras pobres quejas dar al viento...
Y deshacer los grandes disparates
que se os ocurren por pensar sin tino,
porque no veis las piedras del camino
ciegos como lleváis vuestros debates.
(rhyme 34; *Poesía*, 2: 162)

Unamuno does everything possible to underline the web of associations linking his own premarital and marital circumstances to the deadly situation of Teresa and Rafael in the 1924 collection («Presentación», *Teresa*, *Poesía* 2: 113-38; Semprún Dunahue 27), yet he never once has his poetic protagonist openly rebel against Teresa's Great-Motherly stifling of his independence. On the contrary, he welcomes motherly annihilation of his suffering freedom:

Madre nuestra, que estás en la tierra,
y que tienes mi paz en tu reino,
¡ábreme ya tus brazos y acoje
mi vida en tu seno!
(rhyme 5: 142)

As Linage Conde (5-10) has pointed out, Unamuno almost continually arranged his life so as to guarantee a monastic isolation from the competitions and insecurities of the world around him. When the Unamuno-presenter of Rafael's alleged rhymes in *Teresa* states that the poet and sweetheart «murieron de la reja. Y de amor insaciado e insaciable» (127), he on one plane implies that, by failing to consummate their emotions, the lovers neglected to produce the death of striving, which is necessary to achieving unity with the Eternal and without which life has no meaning.

Unamuno's writings and other acts of exile certainly offer ample evidence of his longing for Concha's sheltering gaze and embrace, leading Ouimette («La agonía» 181) to state that, when Unamuno desires to assert his «true» self amid the many present in *De Fuerteventura a París*, he does so by means of evoking Concha. For example, when he receives a photo of Concha on May 24, 1924, the desperate longing to escape his captivity moves him to pen the sonnet «Ahora que voy tocando ya la cumbre», in which he evokes Concha as the support behind his resolve to stand firm against tyr-

anny (Salcedo 261). When the Argentine writer Delfina de Molina y Vedia tries to aussuage his sufferings with her womanly embrace, he resolutely rebuffs her, evoking the mother of his eight children, ever his own mother in moments of personal crisis (Zubizarreta 267; *Cómo se hace* 156). In Fuerteventura and aboard the boat that will take him to Paris, he evokes the peaceful embrace of Concha's eyes, suggested to him by the deep blue of the sea (Blanco Aguinaga 117; sonnets 27, 32, 66, *De Fuerteventura, Poesía* 2:287, 291, 318). She is his sustenance in his struggle against the illegitimate regime of Primo de Rivera and Alfonso XIII (sonnet 26 and commentary, *De Fuerteventura, Poesía* 2: 286). He writes to Concha stating that she, in Salamanca, supports him far better than his children who would hover around him in both Fuerteventura and Paris (Zubizarreta 267-70). When a female journalist tries to shepherd him around the French capital he is stalwartly nonparticipatory (Salcedo 265). When his wife and daughters arrive, he allows them to look after him like a child (Salcedo 278). In Hendaye, in July of 1927, he longs for Concha's promised Christmas visit a full six months in advance (Salcedo 299).

However, in addition to the material that can be adduced to show that Don Miguel never ceased depending on Concha's protection during his years of exile, there is equally compelling evidence that he did everything possible to rearrange during this period the nature of his relationship with his wife and family. Both when Primo de Rivera lifted the order of deportation and when he pardoned Don Miguel's alleged crimes, Unamuno determined to go forward with a self-imposed exile. This was not the first time that he had been or was to be separated from Concha for a long period. After he had been married for only one-half year, Unamuno spent an extensive period in Madrid trying to win an *oposición*. In spite of the expected closeness of the pair during their initial year of marriage, Unamuno told his friend Ganivet «que no tenía más noticia de Salamanca que lo leído en los libros...» (Salcedo 65). In spite of the separation, he seems to have been able to go on to win the *oposición* rather handily. On Fuerteventura he publicly states that he prefers his way of life on the island to his habitual ways in Salamanca, since, as Ouimette paraphrases, «En la isla silenciosa no tiene más remedio que dedicarse a su propia salvación» (Ouimette, «La agonía» 187). On May 2, 1924 he published an article in *Nuevo Mundo* in which he claims that his physical and

mental health have never been better: «¡Qué sanatorio! ¡Qué fuente de calma!... Y ¡cómo se duerme! ¡Es una bendición, una verdadera bendición! En mi vida he dormido mejor. ¡En mi vida he dirigido mejor mis íntimas inquietudes!» (Linage Conde 25-26; also, Salcedo 258). In July of 1924, Unamuno orders his children to return home to Spain from Paris, alleging that the political statement of his exile will be meaningful only if he remains unaccompanied. When Concha visits him in January of 1925, and this only after winning money in the lottery, it has been over a year since they have seen each other (Salcedo 278). After a short visit, he once more insists that the family return home. In 1926 Unamuno's sons propose for a second time that they and their wives take turns accompanying him in his solitude, but he once more alleges the continued need to project an image of sacrificing himself for the fatherland (291).

It is Blanco Aguinaga who first notes that three of the five parts of *Rosario de sonetos líricos* (1911), a collection begun while on a trip, carry the titles «De vuelta a casa», «En casa ya», and «De nuevo en casa» (Blanco Aguinaga 112). While it can be argued that home and domesticity form a major focus for these poems, it must not be overlooked that Unamuno is able to feel this notable peacefulness of wife and family *only* after having been away from them for extended periods. It is the old need for contrasts so clearly pointed out in *Paz en la guerra.* Blanco Aguinaga demonstrates that Unamuno's poetry almost always undergoes formal breakdowns when he attempts to depict uninterrupted domestic peace, because the chaos of the outer world is always present as a relief in Unamuno's mind and cannot long be excluded from the artificial orderliness of form when dealing with domestic subject matter (115). In 1924 Unamuno was taking steps to escape the deadening peace of the family and enter into the national life that seemed to be calling for a spiritual leadership that he better than anyone else could offer: «Iba a iniciar su campaña civil en la que debía *sacrificar* a su familia: 'Y es que cuando Dios llama hay que dejarlo todo'» (Zubizarreta 265). Reading the poems of *Teresa,* which in so many ways are harbinger of the Unamuno-Concha relationship of the exile, we note that the Teresa-Concha figure (so labeled by Ana Suárez Miramón, notes to *Teresa, Poesía* 2: 175 and hinted at in Unamuno's own «Presentación») is already very different from the protective Concha evoked a quarter century earlier in the poems

collected in *Poesías*. The dead Teresa, like the absent Concha of exile, now becomes the painful absence that will enable Rafael-Unamuno to feel himself existing, existing so intensely that the unbearable sense of mortality —which inevitably had punctured the harbor of the beloved's maternal gaze— will once more be annihilated. Speaking of this pain, Rafael says to the forever absent Teresa, «tú eres la única prueba que no falla / de mi inmortalidad» (rhyme 49: 175); «...Teresa, no dudo / de que tú me salvarás. / Recordando tus dolores, / dolores de puro amor, / aquí te traigo estas flores: / ¡La eternidad es la flor! (rhyme 54: 183).

There is in these prophetic poems an acute sense that the role expected of a man is one of deporting himself heroically in front of his woman, but without ever depending upon her moral support. In rhyme 55 this admiration for the independently functioning hero is placed in the mouth of the departed Teresa, who must become resigned to her biblically ordained role: «El hombre ha de vivir su vida propia; / tenéis mucho que hacer... / ¿nosotras? ¡ay! la vida es sólo copia / en la mujer» (184). Rhyme 58 depicts Rafael-Unamuno as Don Quijote poised to conquer the world for his Dulcinea-Concha: «Me encontraba perdido en un islote / desierto y pobre en medio de la mar, / mas con el pecho fiel de don Quijote / resuelto un mundo entero a conquistar» (187). It is a poem worth returning to. Ouimette has sensitively analyzed this posture visible in the early writings on don Quijote and then visible in a more clearly autobiographical stance in the writings of exile: «The highest human objective, according to Unamuno, is an idealized womankind, and in the figure of Dulcinea he sees the incarnation of that heroic achievement... devotion to the service of woman brings out the best virtues in the hero» *(Reason Aflame* 76-77). Serrano Poncela has stated that, in the Unamunian vision, Don Quijote must act as if Dulcinea —the ultimate inspiration for his fame— had her admiring eyes perennially fixed upon him (262). Applying this early, important model to Unamuno's conceptual relationship with Concha during the exile years, we can conceive of an Unamuno who did many things during the years 1924-1930 —including the pain of the exile itself— in order to offer up to Concha a perfect sacrifice of a robustly functioning human being. Unamuno created for himself a Dulcinea/Concha/God who would be able to «create» him by inspiring in him the deeds that would permit him not only to stand proudly in their composite eyes, but to stand proudly alone.

This is clearly the sense of independence we feel in sonnet 15 of *De Fuerteventura a París (Poesía* 2: 278), where Unamuno sings his quest for truth and exalts his natural independence while most uncharacteristically sunbathing naked on the Hotel Fuerteventura roof. Above all, it is the sense of youthful possibility rediscovered that we find in the highly important sonnet 56:

> Al frisar los sesenta mi otro sino,
> el que dejé al dejar mi natal villa,
> brota del fondo del ensueño y brilla
> un nuevo porvenir en mi camino.
> Vuelve el que pudo ser y que el destino
> sofocó en una cátedra en Castilla,
> me llega por la mar hasta la orilla
> trayendo nueva rueca y nuevo lino.
> Hacerme, al fin, el que soñé, poeta,
> vivir mi ensueño del caudillo fuerte
> que el fugitivo azar prende y sujeta;
> volver las tornas, dominar la suerte
> y en la vida de obrar, por fuera inquieta,
> derretir el espanto de la muerte. (308)

Teresa, which we in an earlier passage termed prophetic, may be seen as a doubly clairvoyant collection in the particular case of the Argentine writer, Delfina Molina y Vedia, who offered herself to Unamuno on Fuerteventura, in view of Molina's reference to herself as Unamuno's dying «Teresa» in a letter sent to him after their apparently disastrous encounter. It is difficult to know whether Molina, the author of 175 letters and one postcard to Unamuno (a total of 632 pages now preserved in the casa-Museo Unamuno) from 1907-1935, shared with Concha the honor of being the figure behind Unamuno's romantic heroine. Throughout her letters, Molina continually sees herself alluded to in emotional passages Don Miguel has published, and many of *Teresa*'s evocations of the languishing heroine as a rejuvenating encounter with true soulfulness could, indeed, with some plausibility apply to Molina. The whole Bécquerian sweetness and love orientation of the collection is very un-Unamunian, and many critics have been at a loss to explain such a departure from the traditional Unamunian poetic canon, which customarily refers to Concha directly and expresses Unamuno's love without the disguises of make-believe scenarios and stage names. The Molina letters themselves pulsate with poorly dissimulated ex-

pressions of erotic love, confessions of spiritual emptiness, husbandly and filial incomprehension, pleas for guidance, and a longing to be with Unamuno in order to share in his explorations of the soul. Whether this woman —who claimed that she could not go on living without the hope provided by don Miguel's (now lost) correspondence, who repeatedly asked for and received photos from Unamuno, and who stated that he directly and indirectly had confessed his love to her— could have had something to do with Unamuno's resolve to leave Spain and abandon the former peacefulness of Fuerteventura cannot be known until Unamuno's letters to her are located or her own epistles are scrutinized and collated with his writings which might allude to them. Unamuno most certainly did refuse Molina on Fuerteventura, much as Don Quijote had turned down the kindly Maritornes at the inn; and Molina's late correspondence appears to reveal amazement at Unamuno's timidity on the island. Then, too, rhyme 58 of *Teresa* (written prior to deportation and published during the first months of exile) fantasizes an escapade with the poetic protagonist's beloved on a desert island like Fuerteventura, framing it as a past, accomplished event. Could this be a coded allusion to the «inevitability» of a real-life fulfillment at some uncertain point in future time? Given everything that we have come to believe of Unamuno's character, all of this speculation seems highly fanciful; but in the light of the 1920's Unamuno-Concha relationship hinted at in the evidence focused upon here, a further search for facts and implications seems warranted despite the uproar that this questioning and the ever-present risks of sensationalist misreading might provoke.

When Unamuno returned to Salamanca on February 12, 1930, he returned to a domestic and academic life that he had been forced to relinquish in 1924 and whose relinquishment he had willfully —amid periods of intense regret— prolonged for an entire six years. This was a return to an orderly existence, but the notion of orderly should be measured against the inevitable chaos in the life of a university rector with seven grown children in a country moving toward civil war. As honorary number one citizen of the new Republic and a parliamentary deputy, he played a more active political role than he had prior to deportation; and he spent more time in Madrid, though his actual political influence had declined owing to his long exile and the passing of the liberal torch to much younger men (Gómez Molleda 55-99): He continued to add to his

Cancionero and composed the four novellas published together as *San Manuel Bueno, mártir y tres historias más,* some of his very best fiction. We don't as yet possess much direct evidence about Don Miguel's relationship with Concha during the next four years outside of the profoundly sincere expressions of love for her in the *Cancionero.* We do, however, possess ample and moving evidence (Salcedo 367, 375; García Blanco 271) that he was devastated when she died of hemoplegia on May 15, 1934; but through the despondency of loneliness, the confusions of old age, and other familial tragedies, he continued to function intelligently and creatively right up until his death, as his retirement address, articles, poetry, denunciation of Millán Astray, and the provocative notes for the projected *Resentimiento trágico de la vida* make clear. For Jurkevich (134-52) *San Manuel Bueno, mártir* (first version, 1930; second and third version, 1931 and 1933) represents a final psychologically exhausted but literarily brilliant capitulation with the lure of maternal sheltering symbolized in the character Don Manuel's confessional entrusting of his secret, his legend, and his immortality to a «virgin mother», Angela Carballino, capable of giving them life through compassionate narrative framing. This capitulation occurs only after numerous novelistic efforts of titanic proportions during the years 1916-1917 have attempted to deal with the most difficult tasks of personality individuation and have failed in all of these despite their clear recognition of all the mechanisms making for surrender to matriarchal possession (85-133). These highly innovative, exploratory works are the novels leading up to or achieving expression during the years of exile. The long, voluntary exile, with its forceful but inconsistent efforts at acquiring a secure sense of self not dependent on maternalistic protection, as well as its apparent attempts to offer this belated, independent self to wife and family as the crowning achievement of a life-long struggle to overcome everything safe and traditional, can be seen as both a mechanism and a sympton of this quest for individuation. It is a challenge over which he only partially triumphed. Ironically, the result of this incomplete triumph is that the hidden Unamuno thus discovered becomes a towering symbol of every human being's struggle for a free and secure personality. This psychological rather than religious struggle is a component of Unamuno's agony that for too long has been left out of prevailing notions of who Unamuno was and the things for and against which he fought.

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